

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05

BIB-01 /088 W

----- 078309

P R 291125Z JAN 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 809

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0015

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: JAN 27 AD HOC GROUP MEETING - GENERAL
DISCUSSION OF FIFTH ROUND

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE FIRST AD HOC GROUP (AHG)
MEETING SINCE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS, ON JAN 27, DISCUSSION
CENTERED ON ALLIED STRATEGY AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FIFTH ROUND.
THERE WAS STRONG AGREEMENT ON THE NEED TO HAVE NATO
GUIDANCE ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL IN TIME FOR
USE WITH THE EAST AT THE FEB 4 INFORMAL MEETING. THERE
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ALSO WAS A CLEAR CONSENSUS FOR US REP'S PROPOSAL

THAT ALLIES CONTINUE, IN THE CURRENT ROUND, TO PRESS FOR MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS, AND ON THE THEMES OF THE COMMON CEILING AND THE NEED TO OFFSET GEOGRAPHIC DISPARITIES. NETHERLANDS AND US REPS SUPPORTED NATO ACTION ON AIR MANPOWER PROPOSALS IN TIME FOR USE IN THIS ROUND. UK REP CAME OUT FOR PUTTING AIR MANPOWER UNDER COMMON CEILING WHILE POSTPONING REDUCTIONS. FRG REP SAID BONN FAVORED DETAILED, THOROUGH STUDY IN NATO OF AIR MANPOWER PROPOSALS, ADDING THAT AIR MANPOWER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN WIDER PERSPECTIVE OF OPTION 3 AND OTHER ASPECTS OF WESTERN POSITION; FRG REP EXPECTED LITTLE EASTERN FLEXIBILITY AND LITTLE PROGRESS IN THE FIFTH ROUND. AHG NOTED GDR REP'S PLAN TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING JAN 30 PLENARY, AS POSSIBLE INDICATION OF EASTERN INTENTION TO INTENSIFY EFFORT TO TAKE THE EASTERN CASE TO WESTERN PRESS. END SUMMARY.

2. US REP OPENED AHG GENERAL DISCUSSION OF FIFTH ROUND BY REPORTING ON US DEL'S WASHINGTON CONSULTATIONS, WHICH HAD BEEN BASED LARGELY ON THE GROUP'S FINAL REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FOURTH ROUND (MBFR VIENNA 513). REFERRING TO THE BASIC ISSUE RAISED IN THAT AHG REPORT -- I.E. WHETHER THE ALLIES SHOULD REST SUBSTANTIALLY ON THEIR PRESENT POSITION OR ADD SIGNIFICANT NEW ELEMENTS -- US REP SAID THERE WAS A CONSENSUS IN WASHINGTON THAT OUTSIDE EVENTS WERE UNLIKELY TO LEAD THE EAST TO ACCEPT THE EXISTING ALLIED PROPOSALS. RATHER, THE US FELT THAT PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD REQUIRE FURTHER EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WESTERN POSITION. THE US STRONGLY BELIEVED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD INSIST ON A MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT OUTCOME, INCLUDING, IN PARTICULAR, REDUCTION OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY AND AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IN PHASE I. NO DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN ON OPTION 3.

3. AS TO OTHER ISSUES, US REP NOTED THAT WASHINGTON GUIDANCE HAD ALREADY BEEN SENT TO USNATO ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE

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OF A PROMPT WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE EAST IN VIENNA ON THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, AND VOICED THE HOPE THAT NATO COULD AGREE ON A JOINT ALLIED POSITION THIS WEEK SO TALKING POINTS COULD BE PREPARED FOR USE WITH THE EAST AT THE FIRST INFORMAL OF THE ROUND, ON FEB 4. US REP SAID WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ALSO PROBABLY WOULD BE FORTHCOMING ON THE FORM OF THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE SPECIFIC ISSUES OF WHICH STATES WOULD BE PARTIES, WHAT MATTERS MIGHT BE

TREATED BY CONCURRENT DOCUMENTS, AND ON THE ISSUE OF HOW TO MAKE THE COLLECTIVE CEILING WORKABLE. THE US HAD VERIFICATION UNDER STUDY AND MIGHT BE MAKING SOME SUGGESTIONS SOON. ON DATA, THE US HAS FAVORED GIVING THE EAST THE UPDATED OVERALL GROUND FORCE FIGURES AND ALSO SUPPORTS REVEALING THE AGGREGATE AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALS WHEN AIR MANPOWER IS DISCUSSED. FINALLY, THE QUESTION OF FLANK SECURITY AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION ARE STILL UNDER STUDY.

4. US REP PROPOSED THAT, FOR THE CURRENT ROUND, THE ALLIES GIVE MAIN EMPHASIS TO THREE SPECIFIC THEMES: (A) THE NEED FOR SUBSTANTIAL, MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS; (B) THE COMMON CEILING; AND (C) THE NEED TO COMPENSATE FOR THE GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR THROUGH ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS. ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUAL ELEMENTS IN THE WESTER POSITION, LIKE THOSE HE HAD ALREADY MENTIONED, WOULD BE PUT FORWARD UPON RECEIPT OF FURTHER NAC GUIDANCE. US REP CONCLUDED THAT, FOR THE PRESENT THE ALLIES SHOULD DEFER DECISION ON POSSIBLE EASTERN EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AN EASTER RECESS, WHICH SOME WARSAW PACT DELEGATES HAD SUGGESTED SHOULD EXTEND FOR SIX WEEKS FROM EASTER, THROUGH THE WHOLE MONTH OF APRIL, TO AFTER MAY DAY. US REP SAID IT WOULD BE BETTER TO GAUGE FIRST HOW THE FIFTH ROUND WAS GOING. HE THOUGHT A LONG EASTER RECESS MIGHT BE UNWISE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF SHOWING WESTERN PARLIAMENTS THAT MBFR WAS A GOING CONCERN.

5. UK REP (ROSE) SUPPORTED THE US REP'S SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TACTICAL APPROACH TO BE FOLLOWED IN THE CURRENT ROUND. ROSE BELIEVED IT VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE ALLIES HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE FREEZE QUESTION IN TIME FOR USE AT THE FEB 4 INFORMAL. OTHERWISE, IT WILL BE CLEAR TO
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THE EAST THAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED A MAJOR AIM IN MAKING THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, I.E., SOWING DISCORD AMONG THE ALLIES. ROSE THOUGHT ALLIED GUIDANCE ON THE FREEZE SHOULD BE USED IN PLENARY FOR THE FIRST TIME FEB 13. UK REP THOUGHT THE EAST WOULD KEEP PUSHING THE FREEZE PROPOSAL THIS ROUND REGARDLESS OF HOW NEGATIVE THE ALLIED RESPONSE TO IT IS. ROSE SAID IT WOULD BE NECESSARY, AFTER RESPONDING TO THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, TO MOVE DISCUSSION TO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES OF INTEREST TO THE ALLIES. UNFORTUNATELY, SAID ROSE, THE WEST SO FAR HAD VERY FEW NEW ELEMENTS TO ADD TO ITS POSITION THIS ROUND. HE SUGGESTED IN THIS

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05

BIB-01 /088 W

----- 078424

P R 291125Z JAN 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0810

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE

CONNECTION THAT THE WEST CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR DATA EXCHANGE AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT NAC GUIDANCE ON AIR MANPOWER WOULD BE RECEIVED IN TIME FOR USE LATER IN THIS ROUND. HE SAID HE FAVORED ADVANCING THE CONCEPT OF PUTTING AIR MANPOWER UNDER THE COMMON CEILING AS AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF HOW AIR MANPOWER WOULD CONTINUE TO BE LIMITED IN PHASE II, AND IF NAC AGREEMENT ON AIR MANPOWER REDUCTION WAS NOT REACHED, TO POSTPONE THAT ASPECT OF THE ISSUE.

6. FRG REP (BEHREND) SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD

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NOT EXPECT SUBSTANTIAL EASTERN MOVEMENT DURING THE CURRENT ROUND OR PROBABLY EVEN IN THE NEXT ROUND. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD SAID, THE SOVIETS PROBABLY NEEDED TIME TO DIGEST THE RESULTS OF VLADIVOSTOK AND TO SEE AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME TO CSCE BEFORE THEY MOVED ON MBFR. BEHRENDTS THOUGHT THAT POSSIBLE, MAJOR WESTERN MOVES, SUCH AS INTRODUCING OPTION III, WOULD NOT ACHIEVE THE DESIRED RESULTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND THEREFORE NEED NOT BE TAKEN IN THE CURRENT OR POSSIBLY EVEN IN THE NEXT ROUND. FRG REP CONTINUED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES CONSIDERED THAT REDUCTIONS IN AIR FORCE MANPOWER SHOULD NOT BE DEALT WITH ON A PIECEMEAL BASIS, BUT RATHER ONLY IN THE WIDER PERSPECTIVE OF OTHER POSSIBLE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE WESTERN POSITION, SUCH AS OPTION III, AND ONLY AFTER FULL AND CAREFUL STUDY. BEHRENDTS THEREFORE DID NOT EXPECT NATO GUIDANCE ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THIS ROUND. HE THOUGHT THE AIR NO-INCREASE OFFER WOULD HAVE TO CARRY THE ALLIES OVER FOR THE FIFTH ROUND. WHEN QUERIED BY ROSE ON THE AIR MANPOWER ISSUE HOWEVER, BEHRENDTS SAID HE SHARED THE HOPE, EXPRESSED BY MANY AHG REPS, THAT GUIDANCE ON AIR MANPOWER WOULD BE RECEIVED IN TIME FOR USE BY THE END OF THE ROUND; HE SIMPLY DOUBTED THAT THIS WOULD BE THE CASE. ON THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, BEHRENDTS AGREED WITH ROSE THAT THE EAST WOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE SUBJECT, REGARDLESS OF THE ALLIED RESPONSE, IN AN EFFORT TO EXTRACT MAXIMUM MILEAGE FROM IT. THE ADVANTAGE OF THE UK-FRG PROPOSAL IN NATO ON THE FREEZE, SAID BEHRENDTS, IS THAT IT RAISES SUBJECTS SUCH AS DATA, WHICH LEAD DISCUSSION BACK TO THE WESTERN POSITION.

7. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SAID THAT, ON THE BASIS OF HIS RECENT VISIT TO NATO, HE COULD ASSURE THE GROUP THAT THE SPC WAS VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE NEED FOR PROVIDING THE AHG WITH INSTRUCTIONS ON THE FREEZE BY FEBRUARY 4. HOWEVER, GRANDE HAD GAINED THE IMPRESSION FROM HIS DISCUSSIONS IN BRUSSELS THAT, ASIDE FROM THE FREEZE, THERE WAS AT THIS POINT, UNFORTUNATELY, NO MAJOR TOPIC ON WHICH NATO WAS LIKELY TO PROVIDE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CURRENT ROUND. THIS MEANT THAT THE AHG WOULD HAVE TO COVER MUCH THE SAME MATERIAL AS IN THE LAST ROUND.

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8. NETHERLANDS REP (DEVOS), ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) AND UK REP ALL REMARKED ON THE GLOOMY PICTURE GIVEN BY GRANDE REGARDING NEW GUIDANCE, AND SAID THE AHG SHOULD

PUSH HARD FOR NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM NATO TO AVERT
STALEMATE AND TO AVOID WESTERN REPS BEING PLACED IN A DEFENSIVE
POSITION IN THIS ROUND. DEVOS SUGGESTED A SPECIAL
MESSAGE TO THE NAC, REQUESTING PRIORITY TREATMENT
ON AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. FRG REP DEMURRED. THE
GROUP WILL RETURN TO THESE SUGGESTIONS.

9. OTHER BUSINESS- GROUP NOTED THAT GDR REP (OESER)
PLANNED TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE IMMEDIATELY AFTER
HE PRESENTS THE JAN 30 EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENT. AHG
DECIDED THAT INDIVIDUAL ALLIED REPS COULD GIVE
BACKGROUND MATERIAL TO SELECTED MEMBERS OF THEIR NATIONAL
PRESS CORPS IN VIENNA, IF IT WAS DEEMED NECESSARY TO
REBUT OESER'S POINTS. THE GROUP ALSO AGREED TO SUGGEST
TO THE EAST THAT PLENARY MEETINGS CONTINUE TO BE HELD
ONCE EACH WEEK. THE ALLIES PLAN TO SPEAK AT ALTERNATIVE
WEEKLY PLENARY MEETINGS, AS WELL AS AT THE OPENING
AND CLOSING PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE ROUND.RESOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, FORCE & TROOP LEVELS, MEETINGS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MBFRV00015
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750032-0829
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750111/aaaaajch.tel
Line Count: 295
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <02 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: JAN 27 AD HOC GROUP MEETING - GENERAL DISCUSSION OF FIFTH ROUND
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006